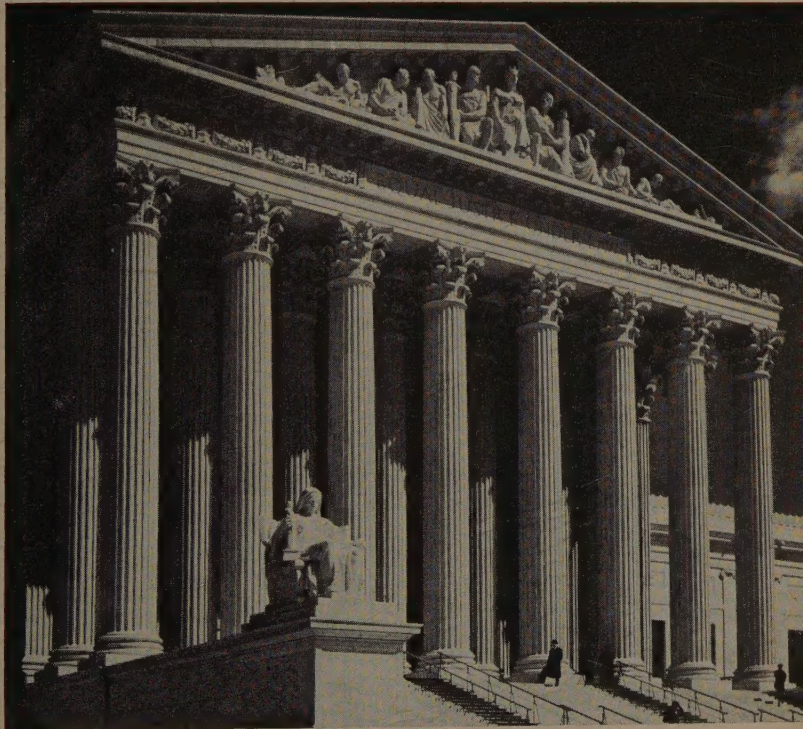


FEBRUARY 1955

Social Action

A Magazine of Christian Concern



DESEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Social Action

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Editorial

The Vanishing Color Line

The event which gave rise to our leading article in this issue and Dr. Kenneth Clark's comment will live in history. It is important, however, to note that it was definitely a *part* of recent history, not an isolated event. The banning of race segregation in public schools might almost be called an inevitable culmination of a series of steps toward full political freedom for Negro Americans. Little by little, the courts have been spelling out the implications of the Constitution in relations between the races, and cultural inertia in this matter has been slowly giving way. When Alan Paton revisited the South a few months ago he found it greatly changed—white primaries gone, the poll-tax remaining in only 5 states, the number of Negro voters growing, and Negroes holding political offices. As a symbol of this progress he found the national capital taking down the color bar. The distinguished Negro Assistant Secretary of Labor, J. Ernest Wilkins, when Paton asked him about the future of his race in America, replied: "It is full of hope. It has never been so full of hope."

It is often said that morality cannot be promoted by law, but this is only partly true. Ethical

progress is a voluntary achievement but the people, through their legislators and courts, can often remove with a few bold strokes barriers that have long blocked the advance of social justice. The judicial ban on segregation in the schools opens a wide opportunity. Churches and voluntary agencies of all sorts now have a new legal sanction for a determined effort to realize the American ideal of equality of status.

Dr. Oppenheimer Speaks

There is something magnificent and poetically beautiful in the words that Robert Oppenheimer has spoken recently on the platform and on TV. To hear him, to watch him, is to find oneself in the presence of a prophetic soul. And this has literally nothing to do with the controversy he has been so deeply involved in—though to the listener and the watcher the knowledge of that controversy contributes to the experience a sense of tragedy.

One may agree that just as a matter of brute fact some of Dr. Oppenheimer's past associations—even the range of his sensibilities—create a presumption of hazard which those charged with guarding the national security must take account of. Certainly,

a disservice is rendered by those who try to invest every pragmatic political act with a deliberate ethical or unethical purpose. To do so obscures the deep tragedy in war, hot or cold.

Or one may deplore the official handling of the Oppenheimer case, finding in it, as many of our friends abroad apparently do, evidence of narrow vision and a grievous failure to understand the meaning of the present world situation. It is altogether possible that our future historians will record this affair with a feeling of shame.

The point is that when one listens to Robert Oppenheimer he feels that this man himself is listening so intently to a voice within him that the noise of political battle does not reach his ears. Jack Gould of the *New York Times* happily characterized the interview arranged by Edward R. Murrow over Channel 2 as "a TV cameo of a mind at work." Consider these bits from Dr. Oppenheimer's address at the close of Columbia University's Bicentennial:

"All history teaches us that these questions that we think the pressing ones will be transmuted before they are answered, that they will be replaced by others and that the very process of discovery will shatter the concepts that we today use to describe our puzzlement. . . .

"What is new is that in one generation our knowledge of the natural world engulfs, upsets and

complements all knowledge the natural world before. The techniques, among which and the world in which we live, multiply and ramify, so that the whole world is bound together by communication, blocked here and there by the immense synapses of political tyranny.

"The global quality of the new world is new: our knowledge and sympathy with remote and diverse peoples, our involvement with them in practical terms and our commitment to them in terms of brotherhood. What is new in the world is the mass character of the dissolution and corruption of authority, in belief, in ritual, and in temporal order.

"Yet this is the world that we have come to live in. The very difficulties which it presents derive from growth in understanding, in skill, in power. To assuage the changes that have unmoored us from the past is futile and, in a deep sense, I think it is wicked. We need to recognize the changes and learn what resources we have."

Here is a man who, though forced into battle, remains with mind and spirit above the battle; a man who sees the events of history, as Spinoza put it, "from the viewpoint of eternity."

Nationalism at Its Worst

The acid test of the liberal spirit in a national government, it seems, is in its trade policy. Domestic policies are hammered

ut in a confusion, not only of interests, but of political and economic theories. It is different with foreign trade. Here economic theory is almost wholly on the side of relatively free trade. This fact was documented by the Randall Commission's firm stand last year against the Buy American Act. In England the stalwart economist has sternly rebuked Buy British-ers. Yet every effort to give the reciprocal trade principle a secure place in our foreign policy is fought every inch of the way. Apparently, another fight over it is due. There seems to be a quite non-rational factor at work here.

"I am a nationalist," said Mr. George Sokolsky on a radio program recently. Then he added, "I have no concern with the problems of Europe except as they affect us." That has the virtue of utter frankness. The theologian, however, has another name for Christianity is against it, one hundred per cent.

It does not follow, however, that foreign trade problems are simple. An example is furnished by the food surplus situation, on which the State Department has issued some words of caution:

"The foreign disposal of our excess farm products appears to be simple, logical, and humanitarian, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz said one week ago, but, having accepted that ideal, the truth is that we're not able to do much about it. Our idealism, he said,

every day becomes a little more blunted by 'the hard wall of reality.' What we call 'foreign disposal' is termed 'dumping' by some of our foreign friends, he pointed out, adding:

"'At every hand we are admonished to use care that we do not upset the world market, that we do not wreck world prices, that we do not use our surpluses to ruin foreign farmers. And, we must admit, often these are the fears of honest men. So we see that giving things away, or selling them at bargain prices, sometimes can be not only unpopular but even impractical in the vast arena of international relationships.'"

We are privileged in this issue to publish an illuminating address by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr on the national interest in relation to international responsibility.

Norman Thomas, Veteran

The tributes recently paid to Norman Thomas on his 70th birthday had far greater significance than the customary amenities that are observed when men of distinction arrive at the threshold of venerability. An "unreconstructed" democratic socialist, as resolutely uncompromising as he was at 40, Thomas nevertheless was hailed by eminent conservatives for his ability, his integrity, and his courage. He has been and continues to be one of the moral bulwarks of American life. When he speaks the character assassins are silenced and

the babble of those who confuse social criticism with subversion sounds silly.

In part, this respect for Norman Thomas is doubtless due to the course of political history. "I would not have dreamed," he says, looking back to his early ventures in politics, "of trying to get the kind of housing subsidy Senator Taft proposed 20 years later." But, in greater part, we may hope, the tributes paid him evidence a basic soundness of human judgment: we know integrity when we see it, and although given to collective aberration we have a way of returning to reason.

Voting Against

It is often said, in interpreting an election, that the deciding ballots were cast *against* a candidate or a party, rather than *for* the opposing one. There is nothing startling about this fact—if in any particular case it is a fact. One theory of two-party government is that the people participate *en masse* only negatively. That is to say, they are ill-equipped to evaluate political and social programs and little disposed to do so, but they do bestir themselves when things go seriously wrong—they know when it's time for a change. The theory is arguable, doubtless, both by those who think the electorate has a greater

capacity for self-government than the theory assumes and by those who doubt that the people really can be relied upon to effect change even when it is plainly indicated.

In any case, that breezy little paper, *The Pleasures of Publishing* (Columbia University Press) has an entertainingly novel idea on the subject. "The trouble," says *Pleasures* in the December issue, "with a system that asks to vote for one or another candidate is that it forces—against nature—the happy confusion of emotions and what passes for original thought into one of two narrow channels, where we struggle unhappily. We do not propose for a minute the elimination of the two-party system, but we do propose a modification of the voting machine. We think that voters should be given the choice of voting for or *against* a candidate. A vote against a candidate would count as a half vote for his opponent. This takes care of one recurring problem, in which neither candidate seems particularly appealing but we dislike one of them much more than the other."

Under this ingenious system the editor opines, elections would reflect, if not the *will* at least the *ill-will* of the electorate. Calling all psychiatrists!

Desegregation in the Public Schools

By **F. Ernest Johnson**



WHEN THE U. S. Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, handed down its long-awaited decision banning race segregation in public schools the nation was instantly aware that something momentous had occurred. Since 1896, when the high court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* laid down the "separate but equal" principle, segregation in public schools had rested on a substantial legal foundation. Although that case concerned transportation facilities rather than schools the principle was the same. The laws and court decisions in the several states which require separate schools for colored children could not be successfully challenged as unconstitutional. The Court had previously interpreted "equal" to mean equivalent in respect to tangible factors such as equipment and maintenance.

True enough, the principle, "separate but equal," has been largely "honored in the breach," but the very existence of this vague criterion stood in the way of any attempt to face the prob-

lem of segregation in broad ethical terms. It is probably safe to say that equality of educational opportunity, even in objective and quantitative terms, has never been experienced by Negro children under the "separate but equal" rule. Indeed, in one of the cases covered in last May's history-making decision—the Delaware case—the lower court reached a conclusion expressed in these words which the Supreme Court cites: "I conclude from the testimony that in our Delaware society, State-imposed segregation in education itself results in the Negro children, as a class, receiving educational opportunities which are substantially inferior to those available to white children otherwise similarly situated."

President Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse College has put the matter this way: "If one racial group makes all the laws and administers them, holds all the power and administers it, and has all the public money and distributes it, it is too much to ex-

pect that group to deal as fairly with the weak, minority, non-participating group as it deals with its own."

Now what makes the desegregation decision of 1954 epochal is the shifting of the moral base. Said Chief Justice Warren in delivering the unanimous opinion of the Court: "Our decision . . . cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education." Continuing, he said: "In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment [14th] was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws. . . .

"We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does."

An impressive feature of the Supreme Court's opinion is the inclusion in it of the finding of

the court below in another of the cases at bar—the Kansas case. In spite of the lower court's finding *against* the Negro plaintiffs, the court was impelled to make this declaration: "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. This impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system."

To this judgment the Supreme Court gives unqualified assent. "Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected." In other words, "Separate educational facilities *inherently unequal*" (italics supplied).

The Constitutional Basis

The provision in the federal Constitution on which the decision rests is "the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment

The Due Process Clause of that Amendment was not invoked in his decision. Due process *was* invoked in the District of Columbia segregation case decided on the same day and with the same result. Said the Court:

"In view of our decision that the Constitution prohibits the states from maintaining racially segregated public schools, it would be unthinkable that the same Constitution would impose a lesser duty on the Federal Government. We hold that racial segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia is a denial of the due process of law guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution."

Principle and Implementation

Probably no event in this country since the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment has so clearly highlighted the contradiction between principle and practice in the administration of justice. The Court met the issue head-on. It might have declared that racial relations are a matter of public policy and hence a legislative responsibility—which is historically true—and that public education is a matter within the jurisdiction of the states—which is also true. (The Supreme Court once declared that it was not custodian of the morals of Congress.) This would have been an easy way to avoid a pronouncement on the basic question whether or not the long-standing dual public school system in the South, involving forced segregation of

colored children, violated the principle of equality imbedded in the Constitution—and running the risk of a flagrant nullification. The Supreme Court chose to take higher ground.

In doing so, the Court behaved in not only a judicial but a statesmanly manner. For it separated the judicial question from the question of policy by deferring the matter of "decreeing" what the several states involved must do and inviting them to present arguments on the latter question. This course was taken, the Court explained, "because these are class actions" [i.e., involving not specific individuals or corporate groups, but whole classes of people] and "because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity."

An Absolute Ethic?

Thus did the Supreme Court make history. The decision has a direct bearing on one of the most persistent problems of Christian ethics: the question of absolute and relative. We are continually confronted with the absolute imperatives of the Christian faith—"you must be perfect"; "love your neighbor as yourself." Yet nothing is more repugnant to Christianity than to assume that one has "already attained," that he is qualified for sainthood. To neglect the absolute imperative is to lose the impulsion to an ever

higher level of action; but to lose sight of the limits upon ethical action imposed by human weakness and selfishness and by social lethargy is to render Christian ethics inapplicable to the world of practical affairs.

The Supreme Court's decision in the school segregation cases has raised a standard to which all who take the "American idea" seriously can repair in the full knowledge that to give it political and social actuality may take a long time. Segregation is a demon, though it may take us a long time to exorcise it.

The South's Reaction

As was to be expected, reactions to the decision were various. While only Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, and the District of Columbia were directly involved, every community within the 17 states where segregation of school pupils by race has been imposed by law is affected by the decision. The same is true of northern cities which have met the influx of colored people from the South by instituting segregation. There have been some bitter denunciations by southern leaders, but on the whole a remarkable degree of readiness to comply with the decision has been evidenced. Among others, the governors of Missouri, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Texas, and Arkansas indicated that their states would undertake to comply.

Former Governor Talmadge of

Georgia assumed a defiant attitude before his term expired, and spearheaded a movement that culminated on November 2 in adoption by a substantial majority of an amendment to the State Constitution permitting the establishment of a private school system. Talmadge said concerning it: "I hope it will never become necessary to use the amendment, but this should put the Supreme Court of the United States and the people of this nation on notice that the people of Georgia are determined to preserve segregation."

It is interesting to note that the newspapers of Georgia as reported to have been 4 to 1 against the amendment. After the vote was announced the *Atlanta Constitution* said: "The sober fact is that the future of education in Georgia no longer belongs to the educators or the people. The future of education in Georgia now is the responsibility of Gov. Herman Talmadge and Gov.-elect Marvin Griffin. In their keeping Georgians have trusted the futures of their children."

Louisiana has approved by vote of about 5 to 1 an amendment to the State Constitution bringing the maintenance of segregation under the police power of the state on grounds of public safety. Concerning this and Georgia amendment the *New York Times* said: "The majorities in both states are attempting to undo the Fourteenth Amendment."

ment to the Federal Constitution as adopted in 1868 and as interpreted in 1954."

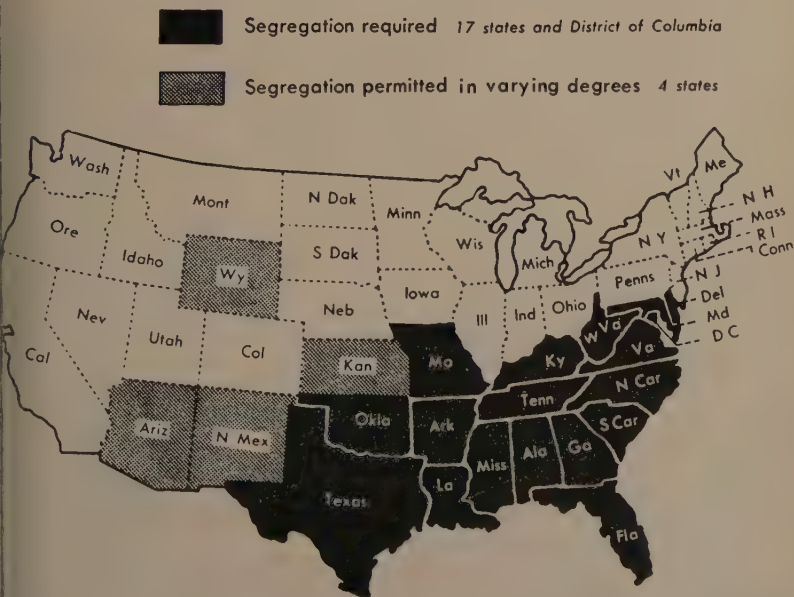
Former Governor Byrnes of South Carolina took the spotlight by announcing his readiness to move in the same direction. Indeed, it has been proposed in South Carolina to develop a triple school system—offering a choice between all-white, all-Negro, and integrated schools. Theoretically, this might be accomplished by subsidizing education on an individual basis, leaving the maintenance of schools to private enterprise. The practical

difficulties would be enormous, however, and some judicial authorities hold that the plan would encounter insuperable constitutional difficulties.

South Carolina evidently has a considerable body of articulate hostile opinion on the decision. The South Carolina Education Association (white) has endorsed segregation. The South Carolina Farm Bureau Federation adopted a statement containing the following paragraph:

"We deplore the prospect of strife, discord and a completely disrupted public school system

LEGAL STATUS OF SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS



(From the book, *The Negro and the Schools*, by Harry S. Ashmore, published by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N.C.)

that is certain to result from any attempt to force integration of the races in public schools in this state. We pledge our best efforts and full support in the development of any plan of operation designed to improve our public school system and to avoid such chaotic deterrents to that end as would result from forced integration."

There is, however, a gratifying body of evidence that the South will follow the lead which the Supreme Court has given. The Southern Regional Council has published some of it in an informing pamphlet on the subject.* Here are examples:

The *Knoxville Journal*: "No citizen, fitted by character and intelligence to sit as a Justice of the Supreme Court, and sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States, could have decided this question other than in the way it was decided."

The Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission: "... we urge Christian statesmen and leaders in our churches to use their leadership in positive thought and planning to the end that this crisis in our national history shall not be made the occasion for new and bitter prejudices, but a movement toward a united nation embodying and

proclaiming a democracy that will commend freedom to all peoples."

The North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church called on Methodists to "face the practical phases of this decision with the courage, poise, and maturity of law-abiding citizens" (Similar action has been taken by other Methodist Conferences)

The Department of Christian Social Relations, Southeastern Province, Protestant Episcopal Church: "The decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in the public schools is just and right."

The Christian Social Relations Department of United Church Women (in a statement affirmed by many of its southern affiliates): "We accept with humility the Supreme Court decision supporting the broad Christian principles of the dignity and worth of human personality and affording the opportunity of translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals."

The Catholic Committee of the South has called attention to the 1953 statement of the Southern Catholic Bishops: "We sincerely hope that the day will come when the ideal of Christian brotherhood will displace from our Southern scene all traces of the blight of racism. Let Catholics, true to our convictions, set the pattern."

Representatives of Southern B'nai B'rith lodges, "in a co

* *Answers for Action—Schools in the South*. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. October, 1954 (Second printing). 20 cents.

ention immediately after the Supreme Court's action, expressed confidence that the people of the South can work out positive solutions within the framework of the decision."

The 94th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. (Southern), adopted the following, June, 1954: "Having in mind the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States concerning segregation, the Assembly commends the principle of the decision and urges all members of our churches to consider thoughtfully and prayerfully the complete solution of the problems involved."

Step by Step

Significant indices of the consequences of the decision are to be found (1) in the official replies to the Supreme Court's invitation to the states concerned, and the District of Columbia, to file briefs for its own guidance in formulating its decrees; and (2) in what has happened in local communities where desegregation was undertaken last fall. Eight states and a South Carolina County filed such briefs. The *Southern School News* (about which more presently) reported as follows concerning them:

"Each requested the court for adequate time in which to comply with its decision rendering public school segregation unconstitutional.

"Each suggested that the high court allow lower courts—Federal

district courts—to supervise the implementation of the decision on a local level."

The federal Department of Justice submitted a brief which included among other recommendations the following as summarized by *Southern School News*: "That the court return the test cases to lower courts where they were first heard for further action in line with the Supreme Court's decision.

"That the local school boards submit desegregation plans within 90 days after the lower courts request such plans.

"That unless a satisfactory desegregation program is submitted to and approved by the lower court, the lower court should order the desegregation of the schools beginning with the next school term. . . .

"That the lower courts should require detailed progress reports from the affected school boards showing progress made towards desegregation, and the lower courts, in turn, should submit reports to the Supreme Court detailing action taken in the respective districts 'in bringing about compliance with the requirements of the Constitution.' . . .

"That it would be impractical for the high court to establish an overall deadline for desegregation. The brief declared, however, 'there can be no justification anywhere for failure to make an immediate and substantial start toward desegregation.' "

The District of Columbia informed the high court that no further action to effect integration in the capital was necessary and that by September, 1955, the segregation issue in Washington would be "completely moot." In October, *Southern School News* reported that "in the District of Columbia, 111 of 161 school buildings housed classes of whites and Negroes for the first time. Integration was accomplished smoothly."

The same source gives the following information about Kansas: "Desegregation in Kansas was under way before the court issued its ruling, but it has been speeded up since. A survey conducted . . . for *Southern School News* reveals that most of the ten cities which had segregated systems are now integrating their schools."

The Milford Incident

Delaware has been in the lime-light on the segregation issue, largely because of what has come to be known as the "Milford incident." Milford is a community of about 5,000 persons in southern Delaware. The school board announced last summer that 11 Negro pupils would enter the white high school. The result is thus described by *Southern School News*:

"From the opening date of school until Friday, Sept. 17, there wasn't a ripple on the surface in the Milford area. Most everyone in the state thought the

plan of partial integration was going smoothly.

"The calm was suddenly disrupted when seemingly out of nowhere and without any known leadership, a throng of 1,500 men and women swarmed into the town and headed for the American Legion home. The roads leading to Milford were jammed that extra state troopers and special police had to be summoned to handle the traffic."

Later, however, the same source was able to report:

"Except for a continued flood of letters to the newspapers and an occasional meeting of the NAAWP [National Association for the Advancement of White People], the 'Milford incident' calmed down and October Delaware concluded with politics on the front pages.

"While the headlines of newspapers, radios and television stations of the nation and even Moscow played up the 'Milford fight' secondary position was given the stand taken for integration by every major church in Delaware, by the Episcopal and Catholic bishops, labor union teachers' organizations and the State Congress of Parents and Teachers. . . .

"And many citizens of Milford—the focal point of the conflict that became nationwide news—insist that the issue is not integration vs. segregation, but rather law and order vs. segregation. They say that the vast majority

of people in southern Delaware do not want integration and would rather the U.S. Supreme Court had not handed down its opinion, but, they add, since the opinion has come, it is now a question of how to proceed toward integration and how quickly to proceed."

This account is probably, in spite of all the indications of non-compliance in various southern states and communities, a true reflection of the situation as a whole.

A striking feature of the accounts that have come from various areas is the importance of preparing the community in advance for any change in policy that is to be made. The role played by a Parent-Teachers Association may be a major factor in effecting change without a crisis. In general, it appears that when there is a frank facing of the problem by the community, and when designing persons are not given opportunity to exploit the situation, the transition is peaceable and constructive.

A Noteworthy Enterprise

We have made a number of references to the *Southern School News*. It is a new venture, launched in September, 1954, by a new agency—the Southern Education Reporting Service—with financial aid from the Fund for the Advancement of Education. It arose out of the situation created by the Supreme Court's decision of last May. Its notable

sponsorship by southern newspaper editors and educators and the importance of its aims warrant an extended quotation from its policy statement:

"We are convinced that a major contribution can be made at this time to the advancement of education and to the general public interest by an impartial reporting service which provides accurate and unbiased information concerning the adjustments which various communities in the southern region make as a result of the Supreme Court's recent opinion and forthcoming decrees in the five cases involving segregation in the public schools.

"We believe that the primary burden for making these adjustments rests with the school administrators and other leaders, both public and private, of each individual community, and that the appropriate program for any one community must be tailored to fit the particular circumstances. We believe also, how-



ever, that communities can learn useful lessons from the experiences of one another.

"The Southern Education Reporting Service has therefore been established with the aim of assisting responsible local and state leaders, and particularly school administrators, in developing practical and constructive solutions to their own particular school problems by supplying them with objective facts about the developments in other communities. It is our resolve to report the facts as we find them, and to refrain from taking sides

on any controversial issues or advocating any particular point of view."

The board of directors includes Virginius Dabney, editor of the *Richmond Times-D Dispatch*, chairman; Chancellor Horace Branscomb of Vanderbilt University; President Charles Johnson of Fisk University; President Henry H. Hill of Georgia Peabody College; and other men in positions of leadership. The mail address is P.O. Box 611, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tennessee.

Comment by Kenneth B. Clark

The interval since May 17, 1954, when the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the school segregation case, has been marked by many positive developments; there have been doubts, anxieties, and sometimes a wait-and-see attitude; and in rare instances intense resistance to the desegregation of the public schools in isolated communities.

Many communities in border states and some in the southwestern states have not waited for the Supreme Court's final implementation decree before initiating a program of public school desegregation. National and regional religious bodies have indicated their support of the May 17 decision and their willingness

to lend their resources to effect the desegregation of the public schools. At a Southwide Inter-organizational Conference held at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, during the latter part of January, 1955, nearly 40 religious, civic, labor, teacher, and social welfare organizations operating in the southern states reiterated their support of a public school desegregation program and laid the foundations for the development of an interorganizational council which would assume responsibility for coordinating the action programs and serving as an information clearing house for the various groups working on this problem.

Also among the positive developments since the Supreme

Court decision is the development of a new type of leadership in the field of race relations among white and Negro Southerners. The white Southerners who are taking the lead in a constructive and reasonable approach to the solution of the desegregation problem are now doing so without alienating the increasingly large numbers of other reasonable and law-abiding southern whites and at the same time maintaining the confidence of the Negro.

The Negro people also are contributing to the eventual solution of this problem by their calm, confident and courageous insistence upon their full adjudicated rights as American citizens. The southern Negro in 1955, unlike his ancestors in 1900, cannot be frightened by the cross burnings of adult delinquents who masquerade in white sheets. These undemocratic tactics will not cause him to postpone his demand for the same privileges and responsibilities enjoyed and shared by other American citizens. The Negro in 1955 is not disposed to compromise or negotiate away his rights to equality before the law. These rights which were always morally justified are now also legally established.

One cannot properly evaluate the positive forces contributing to the eventual desegregation of the public schools without recognizing the responsible and statesmanlike role which the press

of the nation and the southern states has played in this area. Almost no important newspaper in the southern states has taken a hysterical or flagrantly biased approach in the discussion of the problem of desegregation. For the most part, the treatment of this subject in the news columns has been factual and objective. Editorial comments have been temperate and have reflected the editors' awareness of their responsibility in dealing with a complex problem of American responsibility.

In spite of these positive factors, there are many specific action problems which must be solved in order to obtain effective desegregation of the American public schools. It is now a truism that the actual transition from a segregated to a non-segregated school must take place on a local community level. Effective desegregation will therefore require specific community organization and action programs. A number of things must be done on this community level. Programs and techniques must be developed to:

1. Translate the race relations resolutions of religious and other organizations into day-to-day behavior at the community level by individuals affiliated with these organizations.

2. Strengthen the hands of whites who believe in racial justice so that

Dr. Clark is associate professor of psychology at the College of the City of New York and associate director of the Northside Center for Child Development in New York City.

they will be able to express their opinions in the community with a minimum of risk and fear of reprisal.

3. Identify the opponents of public school desegregation as enemies of democracy and justice and reduce as far as possible their status and power in the community.

4. Provide economic support for those Negroes who are made the victims of economic reprisals because of their activity in initiating or supporting action for desegregation.

5. Communicate to Negro parents the procedures which are necessary to desegregate the schools in a given community and provide for them the necessary protection and support in the face of subtle and overt pressures which might be directed against them.

6. Encourage Negroes in southern states to register, vote, and participate in the political life of their community and to protect their right to do so with impunity.

7. Influence individuals with religious, economic, political and social power in a community to express and support a positive position on desegregation.

These and other specific community action programs initiated and backed by our great religious denominations, social agencies, educational associations, labor unions, and other groups of citizens will assure effective desegregation of the public schools. Such action will give practical societal meaning to the Supreme Court's momentous decision. Such action programs will confound the prophets of doom and confuse those who would seek to subvert

a great issue of democracy to their petty ends of political expediency.

The May 17 decision was a testament to the vitality and dynamism that are inherent in American democracy. The progress of the Negro in America culminating in this decision and its implementation represents a unique social revolution. It is significant that the magnitude of this social change which utilized only the methods of reason, power and dignity of reason, intelligence, good will, and the law and not the irrational methods of force and violence, has not yet been fully appreciated by the American people. In characteristic fashion, the American people by and large have taken this momentous fact for granted because it is inherent in the American democratic traditions and the promise of the American creed. Those who would be cynical about their disdain of the power of the democratic idea cannot explain the strong currents of racial democracy which now permeate all aspects of American life. The Negro American by his insistence upon his full rights as an American citizen has strengthened the democratic rights of all Americans. Moreover, he has demonstrated a genuine patriotism by strengthening the foundations of America so that she need not fear the predatory enemies of democracy.

A Southern Statesman on Segregation

[Some months ago an eminent statesman and churchman of the South, Dr. Frank P. Graham, gave a noteworthy address on the segregation issue at a Southern Presbyterian conference at Montreat, N.C. He was speaking in support of a report to be presented to the 94th Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. For the Assembly's action, see page 13.) By permission we reproduce here a part of the address.

Dr. Graham, now U.N. representative for India and Pakistan, was formerly U.S. Senator and at one time president of the University of North Carolina.]

I trust I may be pardoned a simple personal reference. Realizing that the bi-racial structure would, and would, give way in time under the impact of the increasing influence of vital religion, dynamic democracy, scientific and social studies, the rising humane spirit, and the freedom and dignity of man, I have long held that the basic solution of the problem of the races should wisely be worked out within the states through religious, democratic, and humane influences in the minds and hearts of the people. The substance of this personal minority view, incorporated in the body of the Report President Truman's Commit-

tee on Civil Rights, was quoted in part by some southern attorneys in briefs submitted to the Supreme Court. The Court considered such a view among weightier views but unanimously decided that the time had now come to declare unconstitutional the long-standing Plessy "separate but equal doctrine" as a denial by the states of the "equal protection of the laws" guaranteed by the 14th Amendment, as applied to the states, and as a denial of the "liberty" federally guaranteed to all persons by the "due process of law" clause of the 5th Amendment, as applied to the District of Columbia.

The Court is composed of members of both major parties and of citizens from all sections of the country. They heard most distinguished counsel present all pertinent facts, factors, varying points of view and differing interpretations of the constitution and the laws involved in the five cases. After fair hearings and rehearings in open court and long consideration of all the issues, the Court came to a unanimous decision. Those of us who favored working out the problem through progressive stages within the states now have the religious, civic, and moral responsibility and opportunity of sup

porting the unanimous decision of our highest umpire, under God, as the new established supreme law of the land in all the states.

* * *

When the bi-racial structure was required by state laws and upheld by the Supreme Court, members of the churches rendered unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. Though the churches were not under prohibitions by the laws of the states, yet the churches, in their racially separated congregations, lagged in rendering unto God the things that are God's in the communion and brotherhood of the Churches of Christ. Now is the time of the Church's great opportunity to use its influence and its commitments to the teachings of Jesus so that the decision of the Court will, in the deep South and in the communities of highest potential, result not in an intensification of the problem but in co-operative adjustments for permanent progress. Humility in the presence of complex and stubborn problems, soul-searching, fasting and prayer, the understanding heart, spiritual communion, and the sense of human brotherhood are deeply needed in this hour. The churches, which should have led the way, must not now lag behind the states. This is the great responsibility of the churches, under God, and this is the high opportunity of the Church, in the

spirit and mission of Jesus, stand forth and work with understanding, sympathy, and spiritual guidance for the wise acceptance of the law of the land under the Fatherhood of one God in the brotherhood of all people.

* * *

In the free minds, loyal hearts and devout faith of millions of southern people of both races will live and grow the unfulfilled teachings of our religion, the freedom to struggle for freedom and the faith of the American dream with the message of brotherhood and hope in an age of tension and fear. This is one of the historic tides in the affairs of churches, states, and peoples of the earth, whose global currents encompass, in this atomic age, the peoples of both hemispheres with the meaning of human freedom, the hope of peace and the fate of civilization. Let us thank God for the opportunity which has come in this hour of history to this Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The action of the Presbyterian Church now, regarding the recommendations of this Council and the action of the Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, Lutheran, Christian, Congregational, Quaker, Catholic and all other churches in the national, regional and local communities, will become decisions which make laws live in the minds and hearts of the people, without which laws lose their living meaning.

February 1955

WORKSHOP

Edited by
Herman F. Reissig

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. If you are interested in the problem of juvenile delinquency or are planning a meeting on the subject, you can get the report of the National Conference on Juvenile Delinquency, held in Washington, June, 1954, by writing to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Enclose 5 cents. You will find it most helpful.

LEGISLATIVE INFORMATION BULLETIN. The Legislative Committee of the Colorado Council of Churches publishes a *Legislative Information Bulletin*. First issue, December, 1954. Edited by Congregationalist Clark Garman, it is a splendid four-page mimeographed job that tells Christians

of Colorado what's doing in the State Legislature. State Social Action Committees might consider putting out something like this. If that is not feasible, what about prodding the State Council of Churches to do it? Write to Clark Garman, 1458 Pennsylvania Avenue, Denver 3, Colorado, for a sample copy.

MORE FROM COLORADO. State Social Action Chairman Jeffrey D. Hoy was one of the leaders in a state-wide *Refugee Resettlement Workshop*, presented by the Colorado Council of Churches on January 5. Businessmen and ministers of many denominations participated. This is taking the job seriously! The Colorado Council has a special Refugee Resettlement Committee. What's happening in your state?

Claremont Committee Drafts Policy

Our church in Claremont, California, has an active social action committee of seven able people. In 1954 the committee decided to put on paper the way it thinks of its function in the church. Prepared by Dr. John A. Vieg, the "Statement of Working Policy" is so good that it merits consid-

eration by other local committees. (The pastor of the church is Harold G. Jones and the chairman of the committee is Mrs. Philip Ordway.) Here is the statement:

"Believing that every Christian has a responsibility for showing his faith in action and that it

For Your Worship

It will be good news to many of our readers that work has begun on a major article on "Social Action and Worship," planned for the June issue of *Social Action*. Since aspects of contemporary social action are new to many church members, it is understandable that it is often difficult for them to express its concerns and insights in worship. The C.S.A. hopes to be helpful in this matter, both in clarifying our ideas about worship and in providing worship materials that can be used in meetings and church services.

rests with special weight on those who have openly professed their belief by joining a church, yet

"Recognizing the complexities and difficulties involved in devising and carrying out proposals for corporate social action which would give due consideration to the various positions on which Congregational Christians may fairly differ,

"We conceive it to be our function to work as follows:

"1. To devote our energies and

resources mainly to the education of the members of the congregation of the Claremont Church. Christian viewpoints regarding social issues, this in the conviction that, so informed and qualified, each will do his best, individually and through the church, social, business or political organizations to which he may belong, to insure their solution on the basis of brotherhood and peace.

"2. To carry on this continuing program of education chiefly by arranging appropriate meetings for the discussion of social problems and by presenting to the members of the parish their consideration our best analyses of such problems as seem pressing at the moment, making due allowance for the fact that Christianity has its relevance everywhere—in the community, the state, in the nation and in the world, but not least the firm

"3. Occasionally, but only under special circumstances, to use the congregation as a corporate body to take action with respect to some crucial social issue."

Warning and Appeal

"Stealing a march on trouble is foresight," says Dorothy Fosdick in her excellent book, *Common Sense and World Affairs*. In our churches we ought to be stealing a march on possible trouble over the admission of non-white peo-

ple to membership. More than one church is, in these days, suddenly finding itself confronted with the necessity of making a decision: to admit the non-white applicants for membership or not to admit them? And often the

deep trouble in the church which might have been avoided by a carefully planned program of education in advance of the need to decide about specific individuals. Some church members say, "Why raise the issue when Negro people are applying, or are likely to apply, for membership in our church?" But the racial character of our communities is swiftly changing and will probably change even more swiftly. There is hardly a church which, just out of regard for its own future peace, ought not now to be studying the matter of racial integration as it applies to the lo-

cal church. Hence the C.S.A. has been appealing to our churches: Let each church now made up only of white people begin, under leadership of the social action committee, a careful program of education. Study the experience of integrated churches! Become acquainted with what representative church bodies, including our General Council, have said on this subject. Stealing a march on trouble is not perhaps, in this matter, the purest motive but it makes good sense. To which we might add that this paragraph is being written with a deeply troubled church in mind.

Intensive Work in Minnesota

Richard Kozelka is the part-time social action worker on the staff of the Minnesota State Con-

ference, his work being made possible by a grant from the Council for Social Action. It was agreed that in 1954-55 Mr. Kozelka would concentrate on the twenty-one churches in the Southeastern Association, visiting every church to meet with interested people and setting up an Association-wide training institute in January. The institute is to be followed up by personal visits to those churches which have started some kind of social action program, "to learn from their experience and offer further help."

Mr. Kozelka reports that he has been "well-received in almost every church." His policy has been "to ask a lay person in each church to be responsible for gathering a group for my visit in consultation with the minister." The

Please Help!

Scores of state and local committees must be doing worthwhile things that neither the editor of *Workshop* nor our readers around the country know about. If you know of something significant, in your own church or in another, try to get a report on it to *Workshop*. It isn't so much the editor who needs help; he can always think of *something* to write. Indiana needs to know what is being done in Wisconsin. Let's make these pages a real means of exchanging experience! If you think your church "isn't doing much"—well, no church is doing so very much. We can help each other try.

A Prayer

An old prayer, widely used, seems particularly appropriate for social action workers: Teach us, good Lord, to serve Thee as Thou deservest: to give and not to count the cost, to fight and not to heed the wounds, to work and not to ask for rest or for any other reward, save knowing that we do Thy Will. Through Christ, our Lord. Amen.

following comments will interest our readers: "Every group told me that *their* town is exceptionally over-organized, yet in every case an interested group has turned out in response to the personal efforts of the lay person and the minister. This seems to prove that a small group of interested persons, meeting in response to a specific purpose, can be gathered with a little effort. 'Over-organization' is not a valid excuse for not having a social action program in a church. . . . On several visits, persons who had heard adverse comments on

our program in social action have responded favorably to the new C.S.A. program and purpose. This is encouraging, and proves that the 'new look' in C.S.A. policy is on the right track, if adequately presented and properly understood."

While this interesting program is still in its initial stages, Mr. Kozelka has been able to list the following results: "In at least four instances concrete steps were taken at the first meeting toward organizing some kind of social action committee; in three other instances existing committees were more adequately informed of possibilities; in other instances it was agreed to use social action programs more consistently with existing church organizations; in every case one or more local problems were uncovered which would be worth the investigation of some group in the church."

We shall watch further developments in Minnesota with keen interest. Congratulations to the Conference and to Mr. Kozelka on a good beginning!

C.S.A.'s Month of Emphasis

February is designated as "Month of Emphasis" for the Council for Social Action in the Congregational Christian churches. It is the period when the many friends of the C.S.A. send their special gifts to further its work. These gifts are an essential part of the C.S.A. income. They also count toward the local

church support of Our Christian World Mission.

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289 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.

The National Interest and International Responsibility *By Reinhold Niebuhr*

THE MORALITY of nations and of individuals have one chief point of similarity and one point of great difference. The point of similarity is that nations, as individuals, are related in indeterminate degree to other life; and fulfill their life in these relationships. Therefore the scriptural injunction "Whoso seeketh to gain his life will lose it and whosoever loses his life shall find it" applies to both nations and individuals. Nations are undoubtedly more selfish than individuals; and for both it is true that a moderate self-regard is not immediately destructive. But a too consistent self-regard is certainly destructive. In simple terms, a nation which follows its interests too narrowly and consistently is bound to lose that security and self-respect which is derived from the mutual concern and the respect of other nations. Modern conditions of technical interdependence have accentuated the relevance of the old law of life. For instance, a powerful nation, such as our own, merely uses its power to force its views upon less powerful nations, the

reactions will be similar to those of individual relations. It will sacrifice respect among the allies whom it has coerced. Leadership can not be based upon power alone, though it can not exist without power.

The obvious basis for this similarity between collective and individual morality lies in the web of life which encloses and supports both the individual and the group. Any too consistent self-regard narrows the scope and weakens the strength of this web. Applied to our own nation in the present historical situation, this law means that a too consistent pursuit of our own interests in defiance of our international responsibilities toward the alliance of free nations, in which our preponderant power has given us leadership, will inevitably militate against our own national interests insofar as these depend upon the strength and unity of the alliance. Obviously no nation is powerful enough to gain security by its own power. Therefore, the pursuit of power or coercive use of power upon allies and friends will inevitably destroy some of the security which rests in a mutuality of interests between like-minded nations.

Thus we have a perfect contemporary application of the basic law of life to nations; and

This important address was given by the vice-president of Union Theological Seminary at a Consultation on "The National Interest and International Responsibility," in New York City, October 25, 1954.

it is one which is very relevant to the attitudes and policies of our own nation.

Yet we must not dwell upon the similarities between the application of the basic law of life to nations and individuals in greater detail before defining the differences between individual and collective behavior. All the differences could be summed up in one basic difference. It is, that nations and groups do not find it possible to sacrifice their interests for the larger good as individuals can. They may be wise enough to sacrifice a solitary interest for a mutual one. But almost instinctively the wise statesman does not ask the nation to make a sacrifice for the more inclusive good. He tries to persuade the nation that its own good is involved in the larger good. The business of statecraft is always to find the point of concurrence between the national interest and the wider good.

We must not make too much of this difference between individual and collective moral possibilities. For individuals, as well as nations, have a powerful self-regard. It is not usually possible to prompt them to action without engaging their self-interest. On the plane of practical morality the difference is not great. But ultimately considered there is considerable difference because the individual is capable of, and at times inclined to, sacrifice his own interests for a common or universal value. The urge to do

this in his moral life is in fact so great that he usually is unable to follow his own interests without claiming to be serving something more universally valid than his interests.

The community is much freer in pursuing its own interests because the moral climate of all cultures under whatever religion assumes the legitimacy of collective self-regard no matter what the final theory about morality may be. The question is whether there should be this difference and whether it is a permanent one. We could enumerate the reasons for the difference very briefly: (a) The community represents values which are, or seem to be, more valid because more common than those of the individual. The community may therefore transmute the "altruism" of the individual into its own self-regard. It may use his sacrifices to aggrandize its power. This is the old phenomenon "alter egoism" which is displayed by all communities from families to nations and empires.

(b) The collective self-interest of the community undoubtedly frequently serves to give vent to the suppressed individual interest. Thus frustrated individuals are more inclined to betray racial arrogance than wholesome souls. Thus we have the force of both individual egoism and individual altruism combined in the phenomenon of collective egoism.

(c) The final difference between the community and the

individual is that the community may have an organ of the will in the state apparatus but it has no well-defined organ of conscience, and is incapable of the type of self-transcendence which enables individuals to choose a high rather than an ignoble life. Thus communities cling to their historic existence with a resolution which is always in danger of losing life of its dignity by the frantic effort to stay alive. This defect in collective behavior is very relevant in this day of possible atomic warfare.

The persistence and power of collective self-regard is particularly apparent in the behavior of the modern nation because it is the most highly integrated of all communities; and it has the governmental organs to express the will of the community and to pursue its ends. The power of national self-regard is in fact so great that even the most rigorous realists have not successfully challenged the realistic proposition propounded by George Washington that "a nation is not to be trusted beyond its interests." If this conclusion is correct it would follow that the essence of morality for collectives, and particularly for nations, is to find the point of concurrence between the interest of the nation and the order common good. In the present instance that would mean how to find the point of concurrence between the national interest and our responsibilities to the free world. A certain degree

of wisdom would of course be required to define the national interest adequately. To define it merely in terms of military security is obviously inadequate. If it is defined adequately it will soon become apparent that our interests are deeply involved in the health and the unity of the alliance of the free nations which is trying to prevent the spread of tyranny and the outbreak of a global war. One might imagine that a "wise self-interest" would be able to project policies broad enough to include both our interests and those of our allies. If this were true the moral problem would be simple and utilitarianism would be the last word in collective morality.

But here we come upon a perplexity which is similar to the one which rendered utilitarianism so much less fruitful than the theorists imagined. That perplexity is caused by the fact that any prudence, governed by self-interest, will define that interest so narrowly that it becomes practically self-defeating. In the present instance any policy initiated by considerations of self-interest is usually foolish enough to assume the national interest in such narrow terms of the power and prestige of our nation that the power and the prestige are both imperiled.

The fact is that nations, as individuals, are not able to conceive a broad or sufficiently long-range interest for themselves if they initiate calculations from

the standpoint of their interests. Prudence is an inadequate basis for wisdom. In individual life the wisdom which can not be supplied by self-regard is supplied by the natural sympathy of the self for others which extends the self beyond itself to conceive actions which are more wisely in the interests of the self than those conceived purely by prudential calculations.

If we ask what is to take the place of this kind of "sacrificial" concern for the other in the life of the nations, our answer must include a distinction between the nation and the government of the nation. The government of the nation is not able to pursue policies which the people of the nation do not regard in the national self-interest. The people of the nation, however, define what is in the national interest by processes in which their concern for interests other than those of the nation, may well serve to enlarge the scope of the national interest and to prevent narrow and self-defeating views of the national interest. Thus if the people are concerned for the security of a whole civilization or for a "way of life," or if they have a genuine concern for the plight of people suffering under tyranny, these sympathies will operate to enlarge the scope of the national interest and prevent a definition of it which will narrow it to terms of mere military power or economic well-being.

In short, the moral tensions

between self-regard and regard for others can have exactly the same effect collectively as in the life of individuals. Therefore the moral quality of a culture and the adequacy of its communications with other cultures is very important for preventing the national interest from being defined in too narrow terms. There is therefore no reason for interpreting international relations in purely cynical terms and for assuming that the last word has been spoken when we say that a nation can not act beyond its interests. The question always remains whether it has an adequate understanding of its interests and more particularly whether it understands that its interests are imbedded in a web of mutual relations and trusts which can be established only when the national interest is not too narrowly defined.

The phenomenal power of America and our relation to a world alliance of free nations give the problem of national interest a particular urgency and relevance for us. The simple and narrow way of defining the national interest is to make the preservation of our power and its free exercise the criteria of our interest. Since our power is necessary for the organization of the free world it is even possible to give a moral meaning to these calculations.

But power, though necessary, can never organize a community alone, whether national or international. Nothing can be more

obvious than that an unscrupulous or heedless exercise of our power must weaken the bonds of trust and respect upon which the unity of the free world depends. We are confronted in fact by a wave of anti-Americanism, which threatens to dissolve this unity. The animus against us would be inevitable even if we had made no mistakes, because it is partly derived from motives of envy and jealousy and from the resentments of those who are powerless to make important decisions against those who can and must. But the resentments are partly due precisely to our narrow conceptions of national interest and our pride of power. Untold damage was done, for instance, when American politicians threatened to leave the United Nations if it followed policies unsatisfactory to us with reference to China. Thus we advertised that our sense of power excluded respect for the opinion of others. But this respect is precisely one of the bonds of community upon which our own interests ultimately depend. Yet such respect can not be induced merely by reference to our dependence upon mutual security. There must be elements in our national life which discourage the pride of power and which inculcate respect for the opinions and interests of others. In other words, the mere calculation of self-interest is as self-defeating in collective as in individual morality. Prudence is bound to calculate

interests too narrowly, if there is not the pull of interest for others to weight the scales in the calculations.

An additional example of the moral problem in the national interest is the effect of race prejudice on our national prestige. In an international situation, in which resentments against the white man's arrogance is a serious hazard against the unity and power of the free world, every manifestation of color prejudice in our own country is a detriment to our cause and destructive of our moral prestige. Yet this consideration alone will not beguile any bigot from his prejudices. The national interest is most effectively preserved by those who react against any form of injustice without too much calculation of interest.

If we take these facts into consideration it becomes apparent that the difference between collective and individual morality is not as wide as it may sometimes appear. We can not obscure the basic difference that groups must find the point of concurrence between their own and the wider interest and can not be expected to make a clear sacrifice of self-interest for the wider good. But in estimating the relation of their own interest to the wider good they are subject to exactly the same paradox as the individual. They do not estimate their interests correctly if they begin their calculations with no criteria but that of their own interest.

"The Moral Foundation of Democracy"

THIS is the title of a big little book by John H. Hallowell which deals in an incisive way with several of the most basic contemporary problems: the nature of man, the conflict between reason and the irrational in human life, the ethics of compromise, and the nature of the democratic process. The author is professor of political science at Duke University.

The major thesis is directed against that anti-intellectualism which the author considers the "dominant characteristic" of our intellectual climate. His basic premise is that "man is a rational being living in a rational universe." The cult of the irrational which disturbs him is not so much the intellectual nihilism of the totalitarians, which does not thrive among us, as the current psychology which attaches so much importance to the irrational drives—the Freudian *id*, for example—and the positivist philosophy, which resolves moral judgments into mere "expressions of individual taste and preference." He recognizes the non-rational source of man's essential "drives," but he maintains that "the passion which carries reason and focuses its attention may not always be a blind passion but may be a seeing passion; and in

the Christian tradition this seeing passion is the love of God.

The author would never fall into what is sometimes called the Socratic fallacy of identifying virtue with knowledge. Man's defect, however, lies "not so much in man's incapacity to know the good as in his unwillingness to act upon it when known."

Is man, then, inherently good or bad? Professor Hallowell is not a Calvinist. Indeed, he takes an essentially liberal position—a rather optimistic one. For he holds all men "equal in the capacity to distinguish . . . right from wrong," and affirms that "it is this capacity, guided by the law of nature, that makes possible to all men equally the life of virtue which Plato thought possible only for the few." The statesman's problem is one of "discovering those principles of conduct which will promote the perfection of human nature and of providing a social environment congenial to the realization of those principles in practice. Again, the author says, "Recognition of the sinfulness of human nature was never intended to paralyze man's capacity for intelligent thought and moral action but to liberate that capacity in the service of God rather than of self."

In discussing compromise the author trains his guns on T. V.

The Moral Foundation of Democracy.
University of Chicago Press, 1954. 134
pp. \$3.50.

smith, with whom this subject is specialty. Against the latter's contention that "democracy does not require, or permit, agreement on fundamentals" he affirms that only those compromises can "approximate a solution to conflict" which are made "within a framework of common interests and values."

It follows that a political party properly defined not as an expedient for achieving a working majority on disputed questions, but rather, in the words of Edmund Burke, as "a body of men

united, for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed." This is a controversial question—increasingly so in America today, when our major parties tend to show real "ideological" differences, that is, differences in political philosophy, whereas they have tended in the past to be aggregates of interest groups. Says the author, "Only purpose can unite men, a purpose that transcends interest."

—F. E. J.

A Message on American Foreign Policy

(Continued from back cover)

without being drastically reduced. The Secretary of State has expressed the Administration's belief that the basic struggle in the world has shifted "to some extent, for the time being perhaps," from military to economic competition.

7. The United States has embarked upon a plan of sharing atomic materials and skills with other nations for the purpose of raising standards of living.

8. The Administration favors amendments to the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act which will eliminate discriminatory provisions and make it a better expression of American ideals.

9. The Administration opposed Senate Resolution 1, popularly known as the "Bricker Amendment" to the constitution. The Administration should be supported in opposing any similar proposals to change our present constitutional provisions for the conduct of foreign policy.

10. The President and the Secretary of State have, in vigorous terms, reiterated the Administration's commitment to the United Nations as a multilateral agency in the struggle for peace.

If, after careful consideration, you agree that some or all of these policies and programs are wise and right we urge you to make known your views to the President, the Secretary of State, and your representatives in Congress, and to the editor of your local paper. While there will be opposition from those who reject some or all of these policies, the Council for Social Action believes they deserve and should have the support of the people of our churches.

A Message on American Foreign Policy

*To Members of the Congregational Christian
Churches from the Council for Social Action**

In the area of international relations President Eisenhower has announced policies and made decisions of profound importance. While the C.S.A. does not at this time undertake to endorse the whole foreign policy of the Administration, it wishes to call attention to ten actions or statements of policy with which it heartily agrees and to urge our churches and their members to give them their support.

1. The proper relation of the United States to the other nations of the free world is well expressed in the President's statement that we should "talk less about American leadership in the world and think more about trying to be a good partner."

2. The United States officially and definitely rejects the idea of a "preventive war."

3. The Administration rejects the proposal to blockade the coast of China, on the ground that such a blockade has always been considered an act of war and also because we are bound by the Charter of the United Nations to seek the settlement of disputes with other nations by peaceful means.

4. The Administration rejects proposals to announce that the U.S. will withdraw from the United Nations if the U.N. should recognize the Peiping government as the government of China, or to announce that the U.S. will never under any circumstances extend diplomatic recognition to the Peiping government. While making clear its disapproval of the character and actions of the Peiping government, the Administration has retained a measure of freedom to respond to changes in Peiping's policies and conduct.

5. The Administration believes world trade should be increased and made easier. To this end it has urged a long-term extension of our Reciprocal Trade Agreements legislation, coupled with a simplifying of U.S. Customs regulations. The Administration is also encouraging investment of private capital in foreign countries.

6. The President and the Secretary of State have suggested a larger program of economic and technical aid to Asian countries as a means to strengthen the free world. This proposal will probably need massive public support if it is to be carried into action

* This Message was unanimously adopted by the Council for Social Action at its meeting in Cleveland, January 22-25, 1955. Special "Study and Action" sheets have been prepared for each of the ten points mentioned and are available from the CSA office at 25¢ per set.

(Continued inside back cover)